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105 564 581 428 the Nambudri Act of 1933, the provisions of which are that younger Nambudris may marry women of their own caste and that the *illam* property can be divided, if they so wish, and inherited by these younger sons.

105 564 611 Others who observe *makkathayam* in Kerala are the south Malabar and north Cochin Thandans, the Kammalans and their associated fellow artisans and craftsmen, all the agrarian serfs and the aboriginals, the south Malabar Moslem Moplas, the Christians and the Jews.

Marumakkathayam, on the other hand, is practised by Kshattriyas, Samantans, Ambalavasis, Nayars, north Malabar Tiyas, south Travancore Iruvas and north Malabar as well as Laccadive Moplas. In the [428] case of the Mohammedans, a distinction should be made in matters of inheritance, family property (that is of the *tarawad*) being handed on through the female line alone, while self-acquisitions of the father are [791] [115] passed on directly to his male heirs. A visit to the Makhdun Tangal of Ponani, the senior Islamic religious authority in Kerala, which I made on the 24th of November, 1949, allowed me to confirm this. Originally from the Hedjaz, Sayed Mohammed Ben Mustafa Haidaros told me that this was an adaptation of Koranic law to the customs of the country and had been introduced many years back with the coming of his ancestors to the south-west coast of India.

105 564 [58] Marriage in Kerala is an arranged affair, parents or a close relative such as the maternal uncle, choosing a suitable partner for the child after the age of puberty. Once the two families involved have agreed as to what shall be paid in bride price and in dowry, the wedding is celebrated publicly with religious rites and with an appropriate display of festive spending. This is the general rule insofar as marriage within [588] the caste is concerned. Intercaste relations are, however, far from rare, and their existence has been regularized and institutionalized in a form of sexual union, mentioned above, and known as *sambandham*.

105 564 588 By this arrangement, which appears to conform to a general principle of hypergamy in Kerala, men of a higher caste are permitted to consort with women of a lower one, without incurring any of the obligations towards wife and children which they would have if they had been regularly wed. Greatly facilitating this is the fact that *sambandham* unions [428] usually take place with women of those people who follow *marumakkathayam*, for in this way, the offspring which they may have will belong to their caste and are cared for by and inherit from the maternal uncle.

Sambandham used to be the usual way in which younger Nambudri sons enjoyed the privilege of taking Nayar women to themselves and

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dbang Nor-pu), who had already brought us to Kyelang from Kulu. Towards the middle of July, with some added personnel recruited from him and placed under the authority of his daughter, Dölma (*sGrol-ma*), we left for Rupchu and Ladak. (For an account of this journey, see *Chevauchée tibétaine*, by the same author, Fernand Nathan editeur, Paris, 1958.)

My first stage was the Shar Shu monastery, near Kolong, where the Wazir of Lahul and his family resided. Here we attended the annual masked dance of the lamas, and spent the night at Thakur Partap Chand's fort-like castle. It was here, too, that I met the *goba* of the nomads of Rupchu; he was introduced to me by Mangal Chand, alias *amchi* Tashi Dawa, and I received an invitation to go to Korzok.

The next day, we continued to Patseo or Dozam (*rDo-Zam*) as it is called in Tibetan, and camped with Tsewang Norbu, chief of the Gyakar Kham-pa, and his people for a few days until we received the pack ponies and men which I had ordered from him.

This gave us the opportunity to attend the local fair and annual market here and to see for ourselves in what manner goods from the nomads further north were bought or exchanged for other products by the sedentary Lahulis. We also attended a local show given by travelling entertainers from Spiti, in which they performed the ancient ceremony of breaking a large stone on the chest of a man.

The climb up over the Baralatcha pass (16,147 ft.) was strenuous, but we were soon over it, and travelling on the flat Lingti plain, along the banks of the Yunan river. We reached the Ser chu and then the Tsarab chu, which we forded to reach Spiti. A short distance further on, we crossed the south-eastern boundary of Kashmir, and continued our progress now through that State.

A few days later, we turned in a south-easterly direction so as to reach the shores of the lake called Tso (*mTs'ho*) Morari (this is the name on the map, but I heard locally that it should be more correctly *Moriri*), where the *goba* resided.

We arrived at our destination towards the beginning of August, not without difficulty because we had had to cross some very high passes, one of them the Lagnyal-la (20,600 ft.). Our caravan, both men and horses, suffered from the unusual altitude and, for some days, were quite unable to go on. But finally, we descended to relatively more reasonable heights and were received, some distance away from where we were going to stay, by the *goba* and his nephew. They were both relatives of the Karpa house in Lahul.

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We were taken to a camp two miles further on where we found some black, yak-hair, Tibetan tents, standing, as they do, like spiders because of their strange construction. There were flocks of sheep about, as well as a few yaks (*gYag*), animals from which our present hosts, the nomads, made their living. A tent, larger than the others, proved to be that of the *goba*, and we were taken close to it and invited to put up our own tents nearby. 114

Very soon after our arrival, we attended a masked dance at the monastery, and the abbot himself acted the Black Hat dancer which is the principal role. There were many spectators present, all the nomads of Rupchu taking a particular and obvious pleasure in what they saw. Another day, we witnessed a ceremony called *zor* (*Zor*) in which a *torma*, made of the head, backbone and entrails of a goat, standing on the animal's skin, was destroyed by lamas armed with great knives, as a way of exorcising devils and evil spirits. [792] [796] [535] [796] [789]

Then came a reception in the *goba's* tent, a festive function at which there were many guests. We were entertained with *chang*, dried meat, *tsampa*, turnips and buttered tea, and the party was a very gay one in which most of the guests, the *goba* and the abbot included, got roaring drunk. [574]

At another reception to which we were invited at the monastery before leaving and in which all our caravaneers received coloured bits of rag as talismans from the hands of the *tulku*, I was able to inform myself about the marital customs of the nomads.

The day after the reception at the *gompa*, we left for Leh, capital of Ladak (7th August, 1938). It was a cold journey as there was frost already on the high passes, and we had three to cross before we reached lower ground near Tso Kar (*mTs'ho dKar*), "the White Lake". From here, we continued down the Gya valley, where we encountered the first houses and fields again and received our first letter in many weeks, addressed to us by the Superintendent of the Moravian Mission in Ley, the Reverend Walter Asboe. A few stages further on, we crossed the Indus near Upshi, and followed its right bank past Himis and Tikse *gompas* to Sheh, one stage before our destination.

On the 22nd August, 1938, we came to Leh in the early afternoon and were received at the entrance of the town by the Moravian Missionary, the local authorities and a crowd of Ladakis, men, women and children. We were taken past the mile long *mani* walls to the Residency in the south-westerly quarter, where we had been authorized to stay during the period of our visit to Ladak. Very soon, we met those who